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Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

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"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."
JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

Kaiser Wilhelm has interfered with a theatrical production in Germany which contained a caricature of President Roosevelt. Surely Teddy will now find some way of securing the acceptance of the kaiser's gift of a statue of Frederick the Great to this bellicose republic.

Russia will no longer permit war news to be sent by wireless. Doubtless recent events at the seat of war have led the great white father to suspect that the circumambient air is literally swarming with Japanese spooks and hobgoblins eager to intercept any item of news that may be sailing through space.

Johann Otten, who founded a "Periodical for Individualist Anarchism" in Hamburg some time ago, has recently changed its name to "Freiheit." He proposes to continue the discussion and propagation of true libertarian principles in Germany, and invites the coöperation of congenial spirits everywhere. His address is Uhlenkamp 27, Hamburg-Barmbeck, Germany.

A man has written to a New York newspaper, propounding the following query: "What human being alive to-day is of the most importance to the world and his fellows?" Without waiting for a reply—knowing, of course, that all the rest of us share his opinion and would at once hasten to deprive him of the glory of the discovery—he answers the question himself. It is really needless to add that the said human being is the emperor of Germany.

The society that is long on name and short on fame is keeping very quiet about the fact that somebody made it give back to a Chinaman the wife whom it stole from him. It doesn't often have to disgorge its prey, although its methods are frequently severely rebuked by the courts. The S. P. C. C. was very loud in its shouts of victory over the heathen husband, but it found out later that Chinese women, like those of other races, are sometimes not so young as they look.

A letter-carrier in Milwaukee has been arrested for destroying letters instead of delivering them, which latter he was too lazy to do. In extenuation of his offence he pleaded that he saved the addressees a great deal of time which they would have spent reading their letters! Thus doth the spirit of paternalism permeate the entire postal system. What great economies a governmental grocery could accomplish with delivery clerks of the species to which this postman belongs. We should all be saved the trouble of eating.

Whether or not it is due to the vigorous propaganda of the anti-vaccination society, there is undoubtedly an increasingly large number of people who fear vaccination more than small pox. Twenty girls employed in a factory at Camden, New Jersey, were recently exposed to the disease, and a physician was sent there to vaccinate them. On hearing of his arrival the girls jumped from the windows in order to escape. Whether they were followed up or not is not recorded; but the incident shows that it is becoming more difficult every day to convince people that anything with such dangerous possibilities as vaccination should be forced upon unwilling persons.

It is "sad news, bad news" that comes under the ocean from Rome,—the pope is ill, for his luncheon was delayed two hours on account of the prolonged Easter services. He should have provided against such an emergency by sticking a sandwich under his *soutane* before starting out. The photographs of the pope represent him as plump and well fed,—much more so than those countrymen and faithful co-religionists of his who reach this country, and who often go longer than two hours past meal-time. If the papal food supply is really low, it might not be amiss to suggest that there is possibly a bull in the vatican which could be spared,—anything to keep Mr. Tailor's digestive organs from becoming atrophied.

The New York "Times" is getting very much disturbed over the possibility of Mormon Smoot being admitted to the senate. But it is not because Smoot is himself so bad; it is Cannon who is the real culprit, and he has smirched Smoot by being "in full political, religious, and social fellowship" with him. The "Times" cannot see how "any body of self-respecting men" can consent to let Smoot in, which would indicate that the "Times" has taken altogether too much for granted concerning the self-respect of the senate; and it even permits itself to say that "a man who avows that he married two sisters on the same day is simply not fit for human society." Why? Would it have been more virtuous to marry on the same day two women who were not sisters? Or would the offence have been less heinous if one sister had been discreetly married on one day and the other on the next? The public is left in doubt in this very important point. Evidently, however, the evils of polygamy may be mitigated by a selection of wives from different families, or by the avoidance of the obvious economy of getting married twice on the same day; or by both.

To the residents of New York City or of any other large city it is not news that landlords object to renting apartments to tenants with children. Nobody needs to be told why it is, and, excepting the inconvenience it brings to those who have children and wish to live in the city, it need cause no alarm to any but those pseudo-sociologists of the Roosevelt type who are preaching against "race suicide." Mrs. Lydia Kingswill Commander, discussing the subject in the New York "Independent," finds that this unwillingness of landlords to have their property soiled and defaced by children is a cause that is making for smaller families among urban residents. What if it does? The rearing of a family must be treated as a business proposition. It must be made to pay, or it must be abandoned. Perhaps slowly, but none the less surely, will the law of supply and demand operate here as elsewhere. When social and industrial conditions are such that it is advantageous to raise children, children will be produced, and landlords will have to house them. In the meantime, those who find it impossible to live where children can be brought up under healthy conditions, and where there are few opportunities for their invasion of the personal and property rights of others, will simply be obliged to refrain from having children,—just as one who cannot stable a horse must refrain from owning one. In any case, it is clearly a question that will settle itself.

Little Lyrics.

If God, as you urge, left his crown and throne,
To snatch us from sin's vile flame,
How is it that millions have never known
So much as that even he came?

FAITH.

Poor mask so oft in many a bloody fray
Sword-slashed and mud-befouled since man's dim youth,
Piteous the trapping thou dost make to-day,
Perched batlike on the grand white brows of Truth!

THE GULF.

"I feel that my soul is immortal,"
You tell me with visage aglow;
But emotion was never yet knowledge,
And ah, the infinity stretching
To surrender "I feel" from "I know"!

SOCIALISM.

Alas, rash optimists, who fondly plan
To consummate the Equality of Man,
Between your purpose and the goal ye prize
What alps of human selfishness arise!

Edgar Fawcett.

Liberty.

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"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the exciseman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

The Ethics of Bribery.

Most people think bribery is a dreadful thing, and there is no denying the fact that the various forms of it to be found in modern politics are demoralizing and—under present conditions—invasive things. But the extreme boldness with which "deals" have recently been made, in the New York legislature as well as in congress and the post-office department, has caused a great many good people to lose their heads and to talk and write a great deal of nonsense on the subject.

Assuming, in the case of the bribery of public officials, that a crime has been committed, the difficulty seems to be to locate the criminal. Everybody admits that the official who accepts a bribe, and who then assists in giving the briber some valuable franchise or privilege for which the dear public feels that it ought to have something—or something more—in return, is guilty. So far, so good. But these enthusiastic and hysterical people, without using any reason which they may be fortunate enough to have, at once go farther and declare that the briber is equally guilty with the bribed. The New York "Daily News" is the latest lapse to come to light. Here is the evidence (from its editorial columns) which shows that in its zeal it has fallen a victim to the popular folly:

> While condemning legislators who are influenced by corrupt means to vote for measures against the public good, would it not be well to class with them the officials and directors of corporations whose schemes they are induced to further? Gas grabs and power grabs and railroad sneak bills cannot be put through the legislature by the use of money, unless there exist bribe-givers and bribe-takers. It is just as easy to locate the managers and directors of corporations upon which suspicious favors have been bestowed as the senators and assemblymen who voted to bestow them.

Now, it may or it may not be "just as easy to locate" the bribers as the bribed, but it ought not to be necessary to point out to the "News" that that has nothing whatever to do with the matter. It would certainly be a novel procedure to let the case with which a suspect could be captured determine his innocence or guilt. It is, on the other hand, a work of supererogation on the part of the "News" to state that bribe-givers as well as bribe-takers must exist in order to make corruption possible. But neither of these statements proves the culpability of the bribe-giver.

In order to simplify the problem, let us reduce it to its lowest terms,—or, at least, let the problem be stated in such a way that our emotions will not be too much disturbed. The bribe-giver wishes to obtain something which is of value to him, and naturally, while perhaps wishing to make sure that his competitor does not forestall him, he is desirous of obtaining a contract or franchise on the most favorable terms possible. His ambition is a laudable one, and the fact that he is dealing with a representative of the public, and not with the public directly, in nowise alters the aspect of the case. Let us suppose, for instance, that the private individual is dealing with the whole number of people comprising the community from which he wishes to obtain a concession. If he proposes to add, to a price already offered, a bonus to be given directly to all the members of that community,—which bonus might be divided equally among them all,—it would not occur to anybody to allege that he had resorted to bribery to accomplish his object. And I further maintain that his act is not changed from a non-invasive to an invasive one simply because he happens to be dealing with a duly authorized representative instead of the principal. If the agent chooses to betray his trust, and thereby defrauds his employer, that is no affair of the other party to the contract.

Let us suppose, again, that a clerk in a store sells a one-dollar article for 75 cents, puts 25 cents of that in his pocket and only 50 cents in the cash drawer; would any rational being hold that the purchaser was equally guilty with the clerk? Is it not perfectly clear that no guilt whatever can attach to his act of purchase, since he paid the price demanded and since every one has a right to infer that the storekeeper and his clerks know their business? If the storekeeper, on learning of his clerk's turpitude, wishes to prosecute the latter, that does not concern the purchaser of the article in question.

Why, then, should the matter be looked upon in a wholly different light when the faithless clerk is a representative in a legislative body or is a department official and his employer the people? Clearly there is no reason for this, except the asinine inanity of the public, and the further fact that all their lives the dear people have been deluded into thinking that there is an enormous difference between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum.

C. L. S.

A Case With Two Sides.

Mr. John Brisben Walker, editor of the "Cosmopolitan," who is a well-known advocate of many propositions for government control, has lately been directing his efforts towards inducing the government to inaugurate a system of parcels post, so as to drive the express companies out of business, or at least to cut down their present enormous profits, and of course to give the people cheaper service for the transmission of such matter as is now handled largely by the express companies. In addition to this, he is an ardent supporter of the movement for lower postal rates on printed matter.

Now, in his zeal for his cause, he has assumed the rôle of a special pleader, and has been led to present some of his statements in a very misleading manner. In the first place, he very properly points out that the postal officials high in power are usually owned by the express companies and that their repeated statements about the government losing money by carrying merchandise for one cent per ounce is all sheer rot. He contends that, as the government has for many years been carrying second-class matter in packages up to over 200 pounds at a rate of one cent per pound, it cannot be losing money on merchandise at sixteen cents per pound,—especially, says Mr. Walker, as certain "slow express" companies haul periodicals for one-fifth of a cent per pound, which causes all the magazine publishers to use the express in preference to the mails.

On the other hand, the post-office department holds that the second-class matter which the government carries for one cent per pound actually costs it five cents per pound to handle and transmit. There is such a discrepancy between this statement, on the one hand, and the fact, on the other, that some transportation companies carry the matter (at a profit) for one-twenty-fifth of what the postal officials say it costs that one naturally seeks the explanation. It is impossible to know whether the government estimate is correct, but it is easy to detect some fallacies in Mr. Walker's statements.

In the first place, one of the "slow express" companies he mentions is the Merchants Despatch, which everybody knows is a freight company, and of course does not use the passenger trains on the railroads as do the post-office and the express companies. Next, the rate of one-fifth of a cent per pound was from New York to Boston and similar distances, while the post-office carries all its matter at a uniform rate to every part of the United States and its island possessions. Again, the Merchants Despatch, being a freight carrier, does not make a business of carrying small packages, and it is therefore only when the shipment amounts to one hundred pounds or more that the low rate is obtained. Now the post-office department transports periodicals in packages weighing a fraction of an ounce at the uniform rate of one cent per pound, the papers being weighed in bulk. Furthermore, it delivers at the residence of the addressee each separate package, and for the other classes it makes collections from numerous stated points. The freight companies do neither of these; and in many instances, where the freight haul has been short and the shipment small, the cartage expense at either end has been more than the freight charge. So it is easily seen that this collecting and delivery feature of the post-office (and which is a part of the express system, also) has a very important bearing on the problem.

Mr. Walker ignores the fact that it is cheaper to handle and transport goods in large packages than in small, consequently his arguments react upon him when he insists that, since the government carries a 200-pound package of periodicals for one cent per pound, it ought to find it equally profitable to carry a one-pound package of merchandise at the same rate. Any school

boy ought to be able to see that this is by no means necessarily so. His argument would have been stronger if he had pointed out that, as the government carries a one-ounce periodical for one-sixteenth of a cent, it should therefore carry merchandise at the same rate. Even allowing the government contention, that second-class matter actually costs five cents per pound, it is clear that the government (which is supposed to supply service at cost) could save the public a margin of three cents per pound on printed matter and eleven cents per pound on merchandise.

But I do not care to pose as a defender of the post-office system, for I believe that under free competition a much simpler and more rational classification could be made, and that then all the rates (except possibly the present second-class rate) would be materially lowered and that the service would be wonderfully improved. The trouble is now that the post-office is protected by law against a competition that would give us a vastly superior and cheaper service. And on the other hand the present express companies are of course protected against the competition of the post-office on another class of matter. My only object in presenting the case thus is to show that not only are the statements of post-office officials unreliable, but that also those of the advocates of greater governmental activity in industries are liable to be misleading, if they are not carefully analyzed. Let us at least be fair, even with such an unfair institution as government. C. L. S.

Many prominent newspapers are becoming excited because congress is leaving the Panama canal strip without any laws and has practically given the president *carte blanche* to govern it as he pleases. They even raise the cry that Anarchy will reign down there. But let them be reassured. Anarchy doesn't—and never will—"reign" anywhere. It is not in that line of business. It leaves that to Roosevelt and others of his class, and Teddy will see to it that there is something doing on the isthmus during the congressional interim. Various contingencies have been imagined by the virtuous newspapers, one being that "nobody can levy and collect a tax or spend the proceeds of the same." This, if the report be true, is indeed a pitiable condition for any territory to be in. Not to have the opportunity of paying a tax would be a novel and galling predicament for a Panamanian, and there would no doubt soon be a rebellion against a government that fails to govern,—that fails to rob its subjects of their property. But the report is not true, and groundless are all apprehensions. Roosevelt will come to the rescue. He will find ways to extract the milk from the cocoanut, and he will likewise find means for spending "the proceeds of the same." He is a man of resources. He has solved greater problems than this, and we may trust him to prove equal to the task in this instance. Another thing that is worrying the good people of the country is that "no person can issue a marriage certificate." Now this is an intolerable state of affairs. It is not difficult to imagine the hardships which this involves. Anyone who has lived among those peoples does not have to stretch his imagination very far in order to see them waiting with patient endurance for the time to come when they can secure legal permission to enter into conjugal relations. There is no doubt that many men and women will live in virtuous isolation waiting for Uncle Sam to grant them marriage licenses. But again it is a false alarm. They will not have to wait. Roosevelt will be at hand, and *presto!* marriage licenses may be issued direct from the white house to the suffering inhabitants of the isthmus.

It is more than possible that there will be a better method of keeping men from making laws than the one Mr. Byington suggests; for, when we shall have reached the point where there are no laws, their absence will indicate that public sentiment has destroyed them—or permitted their lapse into dead letters. The plan of keeping certain laws, and not to enforce these laws by violence, leads practically to an impossibility. A law, to be a law, must be capable of being enforced, and there are some laws that can be enforced only by violence. Mr. Byington's proposal to make the enforcement of law by violence itself a violation of law seems to complicate matters unnecessarily. He has not proved the necessity for a law that ought not to be enforced—by violence, if necessary. Why not abolish such a law instead of enforcing it? That sounds more practical. His "simplest and clearest solution" has no claim to those qualifications. We should be going more directly to the root of the matter by saying at once that we shall not hold it legitimate for anyone to aggress, the right of self-defence following as a corollary. It is scarcely warrantable, either, to conclude that, in a voluntary defence association, the jury system would be clumsy. It is reasonable to assume that it would be much less unwieldy than it is under present conditions, and even now it is resorted to much more freely, both in criminal and civil action, than Mr. Byington predicts will be the case when the law of equal freedom is to be enforced. The gradual abolition of all laws incompatible with equality of freedom is undoubtedly in the direct line of the evolutionary process; and it is furthermore certain that such laws will cease to be enforced even before they are formally abolished. Thus the anomaly of being obliged to use violence in preventing a man from enforcing a law is one that will probably never be witnessed.

The extremes to which the government of Spain has gone in recent years in its attempts to suppress free speech, free press, and all opposition—either tentative or definite—to its high-handed proceedings have made it practically impossible to publish, within the borders of that country, any periodical that would tell the unvarnished facts. This has led to the establishment of a bi-monthly paper (printed in the French language) in Paris, called "L'Espagne Inquisitoriale," an "organ of international indignation against Spanish tyranny." The editor, in the first number, which has just come to hand, speaking of the "infamous tortures and persecutions to which workingmen are subjected by the present Spanish *régime*," says: "We wish to do everything possible to prevent the Spanish working people, who are not the last to struggle for liberty and human emancipation, from being wholly crushed by an ignorant and barbarous *bourgeoisie*." This is a laudable effort, to which Liberty extends its warmest sympathy. The publisher of "L'Espagne Inquisitoriale" is Charles Loizel, 42 Rue de la Roquette (XIe), Paris. No subscription rate or even price for single number is given, but the support of the paper will depend upon voluntary contributions, which may be sent to the publisher.

Oriental war developments would seem to indicate that the easiest way for Japan to conquer Russia would be to induce the czar to plant a plentiful supply of mines in his harbors and navigate his warships over them.

The Engenderment of Laws

I have lately had the question put to me, where laws come from; and the answer appears to involve some truths which we cannot leave out of account in our anticipations of future society.

Of course every one knows where a great many laws come from. They are made by the legislature here, or by the tsar in Russia; or they are evolved by the courts—sometimes marvelously—from laws already existing. This being undisputed, the question in hand is whether there are any other laws besides those made by legislatures and courts. To be sure there are also the law of gravitation and the law of excluded middle—therefore I would best begin by defining what I just now mean by a law.

1. A law is a rule of action to which one or more persons are expected to conform under the influence of the fact that somebody demands it of them.

2. A law is a rule of action to which one or more persons are expected to conform under the influence of the fact that somebody will use physical force against them if they do not.

Such are the laws that I want to talk about; and my special interest is in the laws that are imposed on many persons by physical force. The rest of my definitions are subsidiary to this part. And note that when I say "under the influence" I do not mean to say that this is necessarily the only motive.

Now what I want to call attention to is this: we have around us a large number of laws of which we know with certainty that they did not originate in any such way as I have spoken of. We know that they were not enacted by the legislature or any department of the recognized government; in some cases the recognized government has all along been, and is today, in direct opposition to these laws. We know also that they were not enacted by any priest, prophet, philosopher, church, secret society, trade union, all-terrifying bully, indignation meeting, or other legislative person or body of persons capable of taking the government's place by physical or moral force. We know them to be laws that never were legislated. We are able to know all this because we know these laws to have started within a limited time, a time so recent that we can check the possibilities by historical records; we know by the record that the legislature made no such laws, we know that no quasi-legislature has publicly made them, and we know that no quasi-legislature has had the power, within the time in question, to put such laws so widely in effect without publicity. We can also be fairly sure in some cases that no legislature, recognized or unrecognized, would have cared to make the laws that have been made.

A few examples of the laws I mean are these:

A driver in America, meeting another team, shall turn out to the right.*

Ladies should not smoke tobacco.

Gentlemen should not smoke in the company of ladies nor indoors when ladies are present, unless the ladies give leave.

* The point is that this American law must be of American origin, because it is a reversal of the British law to turn to the left. Of course the government has adopted this law, but not till after it was already in force as the accepted law of the American road.

in frontier regions, horse-stealing is punishable with death, even while the same penalty might not be permissible for other thefts of much larger value.*

The rape of a white woman by a black man shall be punished by lynch procedure and not by legal procedure.†

A bridegroom, in certain extensive sections of society, must pay a marriage tax of a cigar, a glass of beer, or the like, to each of the men who have been his associates.‡

Among boys in New York City and the region dominated by it, the right of property in an object seen lying in the street (for instance, a stick of kindling-wood) is acquired by being the first to shout "I bony that!" If by some accident the street is full of treasures, a lively boy can scurry about bonying this and that much faster than he could have taken *de facto* possession, and collect his goods after he is done bonying. Boys here in Cambridge inform me that the same law exists here, but the word is "hozy." §

Some parts of international law may have been decreed by ancient priests, and some parts have been decreed by international congresses of late years; but much of it is known to have originated in neither way—for instance, the limitation of a government's jurisdiction over the sea to a distance of a league from the coast.

The law against electing any man to a third term as president of the United States, though in some respects not important, is made especially instructive by the fact that its entire history is well known.

I am fairly confident that my list might rightly include the dueling code, most of the rules of chivalry, the law against hitting a man below the belt in a fist fight, the rules of bundling in old New England, and parts of the common law of trade unions; but I am not prepared to prove that these have not had a legislative origin at some time or other. The instances I have cited are enough to show what I mean and to prove my case. The list of unenacted laws ¶ includes frivolous laws and important laws, useful laws and pernicious laws, laws of essential outcome and laws of technical procedure, laws which are enforced by violence and laws which are not so enforced, laws which bear equally on all and laws which favor one class against another. In the case of laws which favor the energetic against the sluggish ("bony"), the propertied against the propertyless (hang the horse-thief), or a dominant caste against a dominated caste, it is an obvious conjecture that the laws were made by the energetic, the propertied, the high caste. But this does not imply that they have used any legislative procedure in making the law; nor will the conjecture always be sound. It is customary, when travelers report that the law of a certain savage tribe prohibits women from eating a certain dainty, to assume that this law was of course made by the men in order to save all the dainty for themselves; but I think we may be said to know positively that this is not the history of the prohibition against women's smoking tobacco among our own people. The ancient law of hospitality, which in many parts of the world has been so extremely potent, bears no sign of originating from either governments or priesthoods;* but it certainly cannot have been established by that class who derived the special benefit, the class of wanderers in need of hospitality; I suppose it to have been an outgrowth of natural human sympathy. Again, some of our customs in regard to dress, food, architecture, work, amusement, and sundry other things, are doubtless more profitable to undertakers and coffin-makers than to any other class; but it does not appear to be a fact that undertakers and coffin-makers are especially responsible for our enslavement to these customs. I may add (though it is aside from my main point because it refers to a law made by legislative process) that the medieval law which forbade Christians to lend money at interest but permitted this to the Jews among the Christians, to the *prima facie* advantage of the Jews and detriment of the Christians, was unquestionably made by Christians, by enemies of the Jews.

From all this I draw conclusions backward and forward.

Backward, for our study of history. We have no direct knowledge of the growth of laws among primitive races. We cannot get such knowledge by going and watching a savage tribe; for the observer's presence is the presence of an instructor in civilized ways, and almost invariably implies the presence of other such instructors, so that the laws which we now see come into existence are presumably not the product of primitive ways. We cannot without much uncertainty take the observed facts of later times and reason back to the effect that "these facts must be the result of such and such earlier causes, because I do not see how else they can have originated"; the trouble is, no man can warrant that he has not overlooked the possibility of the way in which the things really did originate, especially when it is known that almost all the conditions were such as we have no experience of. (I have just been doing the thing myself, in what I wrote about the law of hospitality; but not without acknowledging that my conclusion was a mere likeliest guess.) The safest thing we can do is to start from the analogy of what we see happening among ourselves, paying much heed to the life of children as being in many respects our best accessible representatives of the primitive savage, and taking into account every recognizable modifying influence. On this basis we shall conclude that in the earliest times laws partly were made and partly grew—simply because we see it to be so here to-day. We shall further conclude that the laws which were not made, but grew, were of all sorts; and that when there began to be a law that people should do thus and so, it was quite ordinary for this to develop into a law that those who did not conform should be punished.

But I think we may go beyond this. We live in a society in which all the most important laws, and those on which a unanimous action of public opinion would be likeliest, are already made—well or badly. It is hard for a new law to grow up by the development of custom when the ground is already occupied by a law prescribing what the custom shall be. And we have among us a law-making machinery which, when there appears to be occasion for a new law, can make it much more quickly, and in most cases more easily, than it could grow. These conditions, and the frequent hostility of government to laws that do not bear its stamp, hinder the growth of law among us; it was not thus hindered at first. On the other hand, legislative action is now facilitated by the universal habit of recognizing the laws. Imagine the condition of a legislature before that habit existed! I can hardly see how it could escape being a laughing-stock. Indeed, I do not see any likelihood that anybody would ever have taken it into his head to make a law if he had not the example of existing laws to suggest it,—unless he were a chief who was in the habit of disposing of the people's lives as he pleased, in which case he might well think of regulating these lives; but there could hardly be a chief with such habits till after there were laws to establish the chiefly power. But my not seeing the possibility of a thing may simply prove my lack of the historic imagination. This much, however, is clear: the preponderance of legislation over spontaneous law-production in our time is ensured by very strong causes which did not have the same operation in primitive times. Consequently we must conclude (unless some one shows a reason to the contrary) that this spontaneous process filled a much larger place, compared to legislation, in ancient times than to-day. I think we shall not go too far in assuming as to any given primitive law or institution that is fundamental to any state of society—such as the laws of murder, incest, clothing; the institutions of property, marriage, weregild—that it was presumably the outgrowth of spontaneous custom rather than the result of legislation.*

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* I believe the government has in a few cases adopted this law, but it has been current as common law over a much wider area than anywhere the government either ordained it or permitted it. It has been an extant law, and one that had to be reckoned with as current, in many places where its operation was by no means uniform. In some cases it has attained to a good degree of uniformity; I have even heard of its being so stereotyped that when men desired to make an exception, a legal fiction was thought necessary. The case is one where peculiar circumstances have aroused universal sympathy for the prisoner, and the first speaker is the head of the lynching party. "I'm boss of this yere gang?" "Yes." "And what I say goes?" "Yes." "And hoss-stealing means hanging?" "It does." "Then I sentence the prisoner to be hanged this day week. In the meantime I place the prisoner in the keeping of Shorty Meyer, the littlest man in this crowd, and if Shorty lets him get away I fine Shorty two dollars and a half."

† This law has become fairly well established, over a large part of the country, in a surprisingly short time for so radical a measure. There is a second clause well on the way to be settled, that the same shall be done in the case of the murder of a white by a black. My argument is independent of any prophecy that the lynching business will or will not be put down presently.

‡ I have resided where the tax was collected by using physical force—to wit, a charivari—against the delinquent; and this enforcement of the law was, I believe, impartially uniform. I suppose a minister, if he had married in that town, might have claimed benefit of clergy; but I doubt whether anybody else could have asserted a high enough caste to be exempted. I do not know this tax to be of recent origin, but I venture to include it here nevertheless; and I am pretty sure that at least the law of "cigars or horning" will be found to be modern, for the traditional application of the charivari is different.

§ I knew of no such law when I was a boy in Westford, Vermont, twenty years ago.

¶ Of course I know that many will insist in calling all laws that have not governmental sanction by some other name, such as "customs." I do not care what name is used. My point is that these rules do certain work in society, which is of the same kind as the work done by enacted laws. The conclusion, in my language, will be that these different origins give birth to laws. If you call them customs, the statement of the conclusion in your language will be that certain sorts of customs are not to end in producing the same effects as laws. Both statements, with their corresponding definitions of the words used, will mean the same; and the proof by observing actual instances will be the same.

* Priesthoods had an obvious motive for taking up this law into their codes after it existed; but it is not easy to see why they should have wanted to invent it before it existed—that is, before public opinion recognized the general practice of hospitality as a praiseworthy thing. There might, of course, have been all sorts of motives which we do not see; for instance, it might have been that a certain priest had in his youth felt the bitterness of being a shelterless and friendless wanderer among those who were well supplied, and that when he afterward became the head of a hierarchy his hatred of the conditions which had been so cruel to him moved him to ordain a new social order in which there should be an express provision against the possibility of such conditions,—just as Jacob A. Riis, when his dog was killed in a police lodging, laid up the grievance all his life till at last he got Roosevelt's ear and got the police lodgings abolished. Without doubt such erratic causes, which no possible shrewdness of a later age can rediscover unless a record of the original fact is at hand, have been active in ancient times as well as in modern; but it looks more probable, so long as we can see no assignable motive for priests' inventing this law, to ascribe it to the operation of general human sympathy—a cause which is known to exist and is known to be adequate.

* Compare Kropotkin's "Social Science and Anarchism," Social Science Club edition, p. 48: "And yet, a scientific study of the development of human society and institutions leads to an entirely different conclusion. It shows that the habits and customs for mutual aid, common defence, and the preservation of peace, which were established since the very first stages of human prehistoric times,—and which alone made it possible for man, under very trying natural conditions, to survive in the struggle for existence,—that these social conventions have been worked out precisely by this anonymous "mob." As to the so-called "leaders" of humanity, they have not contributed anything useful that was not developed previously in customary law; they may have emphasized (they nearly always vitiated) some useful existing customs, but they have not invented them; while they always strove, on their side, to turn to their own advantage the common-law institutions that had been worked out by the masses for their mutual protection, or, failing in this, endeavored to destroy them." And p. 52: "All forms of mutual support and all institutions for the preservation of peace—including the jury—were developed by the creative genius *of the anonymous masses.*"

Kropotkin here says more than I will be responsible for, but my thesis is a part of what he says. It will be noted that he, or his translator, here uses the word "law" in my sense; but in most of the book he uses it in a contrary sense, clearly restricting it to laws of legislative origin. I suppose the inconsistency is to be explained by guessing that there are in Russian, as in most European languages, two words for law, corresponding to the Latin *lex* and *jus*, French *loi* and *droit*, German *Gesetz* and *Recht*; roughly corresponding to the English *statute law* and *common law*. At any rate, as I have said, I am not just now concerned about the words but about the things. The distinction seems to be useful from Kropotkin's standpoint because he regards the enacted governmental laws as much more rigid than the unenacted and non-governmental. I doubt whether this can be maintained as a uniform principle. Which is of more rigid and uniform application in the United States: the governmental laws against obscene literature, against spitting in certain public places, against selling liquor at certain hours and to certain classes; the enacted laws of the Episcopal church against divorce, and of the Methodist church against lawsuits between members, trading in smuggled goods, "the putting on of gold and costly apparel," "the singing those songs, or reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God"; or the unenacted, non-governmental laws against eating snakes (which are known to be very good food) and against a woman's going about her ordinary business in a skirt that reaches just to her knees? Which more rigidly controls the people of New York City, the law requiring all births to be reported to the Board of Health (ex-President Cleveland broke this law when his daughter Ruth was born in the city, and the Board of Health made up an incomplete statistical record of the birth from newspaper reports) or the unwritten law requiring an automobile display of undertakers' goods at every funeral, with mourning clothes, etc.?

Two causes seem to have operated to make men glad to introduce the legislative method. One is the need of amendment. Old laws are outgrown, and there is no convenient way to repeal or modify them unless you have a legislature. Where there is no legislature, and the law has grown tolerably stiff, the procedure is to evade it by a legal fiction, as in my lynch-law story. See how legal fictions grow up around any law that is especially sacred, or in some other way inaccessible to legislative change; the Talmud is a shining instance, and the process has visibly begun in the case of the United States constitution. But legislation is a more satisfactory process than legal fiction. The second cause is the need of certainty in some kinds of laws, where it has been reasonably said that certainty is sometimes more important than justice. At least it is more satisfactory to the sufferers at the moment than any approach to justice that could be had without it. It is probably best for American liberty in the long run that the Comstock law is not helped out by a censor; but I have known some of its victims to say that they would rather have a censor so as to know beforehand whether a thing was going to be lawful or unlawful, and not run the risk of being jailed by one court for a book which another equally high court had declared lawful. Now an uncertainty of law can in most cases be cured by legislation, while (especially if neither side is willing to give in) it may propagate itself for any length of time in the absence of legislation or of "judge-made law."

Looking backward, I see this; looking forward, I see things of the same sort. The growth of laws is a constant phenomenon of society, which goes on apart from legislative authorities, and therefore would not be stopped by the abolition of such authorities; abolishing them would only make it harder to change the laws. There will be no way to keep men from making laws, apparently, but by having a law against laws.* But I do not think we want to get rid of all our laws; I am sure it is more convenient to have every driver turn out to the right than to have nobody know which way the man in front of him is going to turn. A law against enforcing laws by violence would be better. But this law would have to be an exception to itself—you would have to suppress by force the use of force on behalf of miscellaneous laws. For laws will grow—no way has been found to prevent that; and when a friend of the law sees it violated, especially if the violation is in the nature of an innovation, he will be as angry as a six-year-old dog seeing its first bicycle, and you cannot warrant that he will not take the handy short cut of force unless he knows of some one who is going to stop him; then, if those who don't like his action are in general too Quakerish to fight him, and are willing rather to let him have his way till he knows better (in which case you don't get rid of enforced law anyhow), they cannot on Quaker principles restrain the more hot-headed minority of their party from fighting if it feels strong enough. To be sure, the boycott can be substituted for force in all this, but I doubt whether many will claim that the boycott will invariably do the work. Therefore, if we want to have no laws enforced by violence, we must get this by a system of violence against those who would enforce them. Then we get the perplexity of deciding whether a given case is actually in the nature of law-enforcement, and therefore to be put down, or whether it is a mere outbreak of lawlessness, and therefore, on our hypothesis, must not be suppressed. It does not sound practical. But it is something like what our communist friends will have to come to, who will not accept the law of equal liberty as a test, and yet will not consent that miscellaneous laws should be enforced at the will of the majority regardless of equal liberty. For my own part, with all the known disputable cases under the law of equal liberty, I find it by far the simplest and clearest solution to say "We will hold it legitimate for the attacked party to use force in resistance to force, but not for the assailant to use force against the defensive force of the attacked; and we will not countenance any use of force on either side when we find much difference of opinion as to which side our rule would favor." And I wish our communists would tell me by what simpler method they propose to prevent the lynching of a negro who takes a white wife in Mississippi, the forcible ejection of the Chinese inhabitants of a California town when one of them is believed to have been courting a white girl, the Carrie-Nationing of drinking-saloons in Maine, the clubbing out of tramps from an Ohio town; all of which things can be done by five per cent of the population against the will of the other ninety-five, unless the ninety-five know how they are going to stop it.

In other words, I find that the only practicable security against the growth of a regular tyrannical government by way of custom and lynch law is to uphold the law of equal freedom as something to be enforced whenever the interested parties and their friends have the will and the power. Now as to the procedure. I find here certain reasons against the extensive use of juries, in addition to the well-known clumsiness of the jury system. This clumsiness will itself, of course, be enough to prevent the frequent convoking of actual juries in any society where things are done on a business basis; defensive associations will have their judges, and their treaties as to the method of arbitration when two associations are on opposite sides of a case, and these tribunals of one or three professional judges will settle all cases where some one does not distinctly demand a jury. I suppose a case will almost never come before a jury except on appeal, and appeals will be discouraged. But, aside from this, I am now reminded that the proposal to make the juries the judges of the justice of the law is a proposal to give us a whole lot more of that intolerable uncertainty which we have just now as to the Comstock law and as to the conditions for admission to the second-class mails. Of course, questions on which there is a nearly equal division of opinion would settle themselves by the practical certainty of a hung jury and consequent liberation of the accused; but there remain a lot of cases, on which public opinion stands somewhere about twenty-three to one, where we should have the uncertainty whether the jury would be unanimous for conviction or not quite. For example, if trials were now decided by juries on Lysander Spooner's principles, I would not risk five dollars on the outcome of a prosecution for going naked into the public street. The great majority would consider such an exposure outrageous, would call it invasive if you told them what "invasive" meant, and, if you convinced them that it was non-invasive, would simply conclude that they would rather see the law of equal liberty sent to Lilliput than live where such things were going to go unchecked. On the other hand, there are a few who would feel that a man's costume was his own business and that it was better not to interfere with him; and there are just about enough of those to make it a reasonable doubt whether you get one on the jury or not. Result: a fellow who holds lax views, and who exaggerates the extent to which other people agree with him, tries the experiment and has the luck to get off by one juryman when he is prosecuted. A sympathizer of his hears of it, tries the same thing, and finds himself in jail. The whole can be repeated as often as you can find a man who thinks his neighbors agree with him more largely than they do agree; and I should like to know who will have any reason to be satisfied with the outcome. There will be neither liberty nor repression; the majority will have their feelings outraged by the sight of occasional exposures, and the minority will not be free to (un)dress as they like without risk of jail.

I should think the matter might work out in practice somewhat like this: the defensive associations, as good men of business, would resolve to accept as decisive any verdict rendered within ten years by a jury of last resort, and would refuse to concern themselves with bringing before a jury any case that their experts regarded as plainly identical with one which had been so decided. If the jury had jailed the man who went out naked, they would not undertake the defence of another man who had done the same thing unless he had mitigating circumstances to plead; on the other hand, they (or some of them) will accept the charge of jailing this other man, and will refuse to allow him a jury when he asks for it, and he will find no adequate force willing to take the job of making them bring him before a jury. If any defensive agency persistently followed the contrary policy, of demanding juries in such cases whenever its clients asked for them, it would go bankrupt with litigation and leave the field to the more conservative ones. If, on the other hand, the recent jury had failed to convict, then no agency would undertake to restrain another such man, no matter how unanimous was the call from an indignant neighborhood; nor would they hesitate to undertake his defence against the neighborhood.

Something of that sort, I think, will have to be done. The precise details given are merely illustrative; these things will all have to be settled by the business experience of those who go into the police business in a free society.

Another conclusion that I come to is that we shall want a legislature of some sort. In civil cases, especially, there will be all sorts of "customs of merchants" that will be presumptively part of every contract, and will go on being so after the merchants are tired of them, unless there is some sort of an agency that can give recognized expression to the general desire, or what shall thenceforth be presumed to be such. Statutes to abolish days of grace are an instance of what I mean. Of course such decrees would have no universal compulsory force; but the leading defensive associations would have a treaty or an understanding by which the dictum of a certain body of men should be regarded as authoritatively making and unmaking the laws on certain subjects.

I believe that in parts of this article I am plowing new ground, and am running that risk of error which one must run when he tries to make up his mind without being able to compare the minds of others. Such errors may be shown up by contradiction. I shall not be sorry, therefore, to see enough contradiction to put my guesses to the test; and I guess the contradiction will come. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

* I may remark, for the information of some people, that a law against making laws is commonly called a "constitutional provision" or a "constitution."

What Anarchy Is and Is Not.*

So you want me to tell you what Anarchy is, do you? I can do no less than make the attempt, and in my own simple way try to make you understand at least that it is *not* what the capitalistic newspapers, liars and fools and villains generally say it is.

In the first place, let me urge upon all who desire to learn the truth about Anarchism not to go to the enemies of that philosophy for information, but to talk with Anarchists and read Anarchistic literature. And it is not always safe to take what one, two or even a half dozen persons may say about it, either, though they call themselves Anarchists. Take what a goodly number of them say and then cancel those statements in which they are not in accord. What remains in all probability is true. For example, what is Christianity? Ask a dozen or more people and it is likely their answers will not agree in every particular. They may, however, agree upon some fundamental propositions. This is more likely to be the correct position of Christianity than the statements made by any one of them. This process of cancelation is the best way of finding out what any philosophy is. This I have done in determining what Anarchism is, and it is a fair presumption that I have arrived tolerably near the truth.

Anarchism, in the language of Benj. R. Tucker, may be described as the doctrine that "all the affairs of men should be managed by individuals or voluntary associations, and that the State should be abolished."

The State is "the embodiment of the principle of invasion in an individual, or a band of individuals, assuming to act as representatives or masters of the entire people within a given area."

Government is "the subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will."

Now, keep these definitions in mind, and don't use the word State or government or Anarchy in any other sense than that in which the Anarchist himself uses it. Mr. Tucker's definitions are generally accepted by Anarchists everywhere.

* A paper read by Mr. Joseph A. Labadie before the Band of Psychic Research, Detroit, Mich.

The State, according to Mr. Herbert Spencer and others, originated in war, aggressive war, violence, function of the State has always been to govern—to make the non-ruling classes do what the ruling classes want done. The State is the king in a monarchy, the king and parliament in a limited monarchy, elected representatives in a republic such as exists in the United States, and the majority of the voters in a democracy as in Switzerland. History shows that the masses are always improved in mental, moral and material conditions as the powers of the State over the individual are reduced. As man becomes more enlightened regarding his interests, individual and collective, he insists that forcible authority over him and his conduct shall be abolished. He points to the fact that the church has improved in its material affairs, to say nothing of the spiritual, since the individual is not compelled to support it and accept the doctrines or be declared a heretic and burned at the stake or otherwise maltreated; to the fact that people are better dressed since the State has annulled the laws regulating dress; to the fact that people are happier married since each person can choose his own mate; to the fact that people are better in every way since the laws were abolished regulating the individual's hair cut, his traveling, his trade, the number of window panes in his house, chewing tobacco or kissing on Sundays, and so on without number. In Russia and some other countries even now you would not be allowed to go into the country or come out of it without legal permission, to print or read books or papers except those permitted by law, to keep anyone in your house over night without notifying the police, and in a thousand ways the individual is hampered in his movements. Even in the freest countries the individual is robbed by the tax collector, is beaten by the police, is fined and jailed by the courts—is browbeaten by authority in many ways when his conduct is not aggressive or in violation of equal freedom.

It is a mistake often made, even by some Anarchists, to say that Anarchism aims to establish absolute freedom. Anarchism is a practical philosophy, and is not striving to do the impossible. What Anarchism does aim to do, however, is to make equal freedom applicable to every human creature. The majority under this rule has no more hights than the minority, the millions no greater rights than one. It assumes that every human being should have equal rights to all the products of nature without money and without price; that what one produces would belong to himself and that no individual or collection of persons, be they outlaw or State, should take any portion of it without his knowledge and consent; that every person should be allowed to exchange his own products wherever he wills; that he should be allowed to cooperate with his fellows if he chooses, or to compete against them in whatever field he elects; that no restriction should be put upon him whatsoever in what he prints or reads or drinks or eats or does, so long as he does not invade the equal rights of his fellows.

It is often remarked that Anarchism is an impractical theory imported into the United States by a lot of ignorant foreigners. Of course, those who make this statement are as much mistaken as though they made it while conscious of its falsity. The doctrine of personal freedom is an American doctrine, in so far as the attempt to put it into practice is concerned, as Paine, Franklin, Jefferson and others understood it quite well, and even the Puritans had a faint idea of it, as they came here to exercise the right of private judgment in religious matters. The right to exercise private judgment in religion is Anarchy in religion. The first to formulate the doctrine of individual sovereignty was a blue-bellied Yankee, as Josiah Warren was a descendant of the Revolutionary Gen. Warren. We have Anarchy in trade between the States in this country, as free trade is simply commercial Anarchy.

No one who commits crime can be an Anarchist, because crime is the doing of injury to another by aggression, the opposite of Anarchism.

No one can kill another except in self defence and be an Anarchist, because that would be invading another's equal right to live, the antithesis of Anarchism.

Hence assassins and criminals generally are called Anarchists only by the ignorant and malicious.

You can't be an Anarchist and do the things which Anarchism condemns.

Anarchism would make occupancy and use the sole title to land, thereby abolishing rent for land.

It would guarantee to each individual or association the right to issue money as a medium of exchange, thereby abolishing interest on money in so far as cooperation and competition can do it.

It denies the justice of patent and copyrights, and would abolish monopoly by abolishing patent rights.

It denies the justice of any body of people to tax the individual for anything he does not want, but that taxation should be voluntary, such as is now done by churches, trades unions, insurance societies and all other voluntary associations.

It believes that freedom in every walk of life is the greatest possible means of elevating the human race to happier conditions.

It is said that Anarchism is not Socialism. This is a mistake. Anarchism is voluntary Socialism. There are two kinds of Socialism, archistic and Anarchistic, authoritarian and libertarian, State and free. Indeed, every proposition for social betterment is either to increase or decrease the powers of external wills and forces over the individual. As they increase they are archistic; as they decrease they are Anarchistic.

Anarchy is a synonym for liberty, freedom, independence, free play, self-government, non-interference, mind your own business and let your neighbors' alone, *laisser faire*, ungoverned, autonomy, and so on.

Now that I am done I find that you have been given only a faint outline of what Anarchism is and is not. Those who desire to pursue the subject further will find food for intellectual adults in Tucker's "Instead of a Book," Proudhon's "What is Property," and "Economical Contradictions", Tandy's "Voluntary Socialism," Mackay's "The Anarchists," Auberon Herbert's "Free Life," "The Demonstrator," "Lucifer," and a lot of other books, papers and pamphlets.

A Philadelphia Architect's Views.

An Open Letter to Mr. John Turner, of London, England:

DEAR SIR:—I want to extend to you my sympathy and thank you for the sacrifice you so voluntarily undertake to help us test the constitutionality of the law under which you were arrested, which seems in such obvious conflict with our constitution and the genius of our institutions, and contrary to common sense.

We can only apologize by saying that this law was passed in a fit of impotent frenzy: we had the misfortune to have a president whose acts against an unoffending people were so outrageous (stooping to foul falsification and usurpation to carry his ignoble ends) that the righteous indignation of one of our people was stirred to the point of criminality.

An outrageous act and a mistake,—for two wrongs cannot make a right. But it is not plain how any amount of law directed against effect can cure the cause. This crime had its specific causes. And to lay it at the door of any school of philosophy is wanton slander.

If your case should prove this law in question unconstitutional, our brilliant lawmakers might in future direct their efforts against the cause, to avert effects we so lament.

If it is a question of killing or inciting to kill, your archist is a past master. He will assume the divine right to make the most inflammatory speeches, so that men are moved to assault an unoffending brother with murderous intent, like veritable hell-hounds mesmerized by a devil.

I believe it is not of record that you ever advocated killing. No, that is not the offence. The whole trouble is that neither church or State could ever contemplate with equanimity the loss of its prerogative, though every such loss has marked an advance in civilization.

No less an authority than Rev. Heber Newton, D. D., has said that "Anarchy is in reality the ideal of political and social science and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Christ looked forward. Christ founded no church, established no State, gave practically no laws, organized no government, and set up no external authority; he did seek to write, on the hearts of men, God's laws and make them self-governing." And, as growth is from within, it is self-evident that "self-government" can never take place through the agency of coercion.

Government rests on coercion. Leadership rests on voluntary following. The Anarchist would have men learn to give up the evil practice of coercion, having an abiding faith that wise leadership commands voluntary following.

Anarchists do not aim to eliminate government next year or the next hundred years. But they stand for, and insist on upholding, the Christian ideal, that it may eventually be attained; and surely the sooner we enjoy perfect liberty to talk about it, the sooner it will be attained.

Therefore, we say, all hail to you, John Turner!

Yours sincerely, W. E. JACKSON.

929 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, April 8, 1904.

The Theory of Stickers.

To the Editor of Liberty:

Since I wrote you my letter about stickers I have been using up some sheets of them on my own account, and this has set me to answering the not unnatural question, what I expected to accomplish by them after all. I am inclined to give out for public consideration part of the answers that have suggested themselves to me during practical use.

I do not know when I first heard the name of Anarchism—it must have been as long ago as Most's trial in London, when I was twelve years old; but the first real attention I paid to it was in 1886-7, when the papers had reports of a bomb in Chicago, and then for month after month kept us in mind of the slow progress of the trial which followed. I did not read through the reports of the trial,—I was never any hand at reading court-room news anyhow,—but I knew what was the constant topic of the scare-heads in the papers, and accordingly of a great share of the attention of the American public. I was eighteen years old, and therefore was busy making up my mind about the world in general. It seemed to me not only that, on general grounds of orthodoxy, I was bound to condemn the Anarchists, but also that, on grounds of intelligence and self-respect, I was bound to know why they should be condemned. So I set to thinking out for myself the reasons why there should be a government. Now I had had so old-fashioned a bringing-up that I imagined the declaration of independence to be the most authentic starting-point for such a course of thought. The result is obvious; any orthodox patriot of to-day can tell you what will be the dire results of leaving the declaration within reach of children, Filipinos, or other undeveloped human beings. I decided that the Anarchists represented a reaction against an overstrained position on the government side, and that when I was through college and had a hearing I would show the world what path of moderation it ought to travel so as to have a safe and clear answer to all Anarchist sophistries. Then the Chicago men were hanged and disappeared from the papers, and the ideas I had developed were crowded into the background of my memory by other things, till they were brought back by finding that Herbert Spencer had said it all before me in a well-known chapter of the old edition of "Social Statics." It was not till still later that I learned that my youthful refutation of Anarchism was identical with the propaganda which had all along been carried on under the name of Anarchism. When I found that out, I began to join myself to the comrades I had found.

It is doubtless natural to expect that other minds will follow the same track as one's own; therefore it has always seemed to me that this was the normal way of making Anarchists—that young people at the formative age should have their attention called to the fact that the Anarchist problem has been propounded, and that it is one of those problems to which they must now give a yes or a no with such reasons as they see fit. If this can be done, we ought to expect that a good share of the most logical and independent minds will come to conclusions which neither they nor their friends would have expected.

How, then, shall we call their attention? A bomb and a prolonged trial called mine. But this method is very expensive; besides, it creates an effective argument against us. I have not yet thought of a more economical and telling way to keep ourselves before the public than by an explicitly-worded sticker. Argument is unessential here; argument might even be harmful, for it would distract the attention from the problem to the narrower question of the particular argument used. It is for this service that about a fifth of my stickers are such bald statements as "Government is a nuisance," "If government means well, it is well-meaning crime." I do not expect such as these to carry conviction in any instance whatever; they are meant to challenge a consideration of the topic and let the man convince himself if he has sense enough; and for this purpose the main consideration has been to choose such words as should not permit any one to doubt that this is an Anarchist flag that is being waved.

Most of them, however, contain arguments; and after some use I am not ill satisfied with the selection. I do not claim that in eighteen or twenty of the briefest possible statements I have exhausted the Anarchist case; but I find them to cover the ground that is ordinarily needed. It would almost be possible to carry on a silent debate with an average conservative by laying a sheet of the stickers before him, and pointing with a penholder to the sticker that answers each statement of his as he makes it. I do not know whether this could be done against a Socialist.

I see that Pentecost has been founding a society which has among its pledges the endeavor "To bore no one by trying to bring him to my way of thinking. To 'preach' to no one who does not wish to be preached to." That depends. If these people around me are going to continue abusing me and my neighbors by government I shall bore them as much as seems to be serviceable toward inducing them to stop. At worst it is a very mild form of retaliation. Doubtless, in declaring my purpose to keep a topic before the minds of a nation with intent that they should "see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn about, and be healed," when the nation would much rather not be reminded that any one disagrees with them on this topic, I am declaring myself a wilful bore; but I think the game is worth the candle. Let the case of Pentecost vs. Byington be decided by the survival of the fittest.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

In Defence of Free Speech.

On April 9 Emma Goldman was to deliver a public lecture in Philadelphia, which city has a director of public safety. In trying to find some excuse for drawing his salary, this official decided to prevent Miss Goldman from holding a meeting, and the police were on hand to carry out his order. Two men, who asserted their right to enter the hall which had been hired for the occasion, were arrested and imprisoned. A prominent Philadelphia attorney, Mr. George G. Mercer, was engaged to defend the prisoners, and it is refreshing to read his speech in their behalf before the court, some of his remarks being here reproduced:

Yesterday's newspapers announced a meeting at Odd Fellows' Temple to be addressed by Emma Goldman on "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation"—certainly a peaceful topic. Those who attempted to attend the meeting, among the number being my clients, were met at the door by policemen, who ordered them away, saying that the authorities would not permit the meeting. According to the primary meaning of the word, an Anarchist is one who advocates a social theory of absolute individual liberty and who believes in the beautiful ideal of the self-government of man without the necessity of any forceful enforcement of the law. I have never seen Emma Goldman, have never heard her speak, and have no belief in the present practicability of her political ideal; but, if I rightly understand her position, she is the peaceful advocate of a state of society in which government, as we understand it, would be unnecessary. In one of this morning's newspapers I read her statement that she had always been permitted to speak on this topic in the city of New York. As a citizen of Philadelphia, who was born here and have lived here all my life, I hang my head with shame to think that this woman, when she comes to the city where the declaration of independence was made, is denied the right of free speech on another topic simply because she is known to believe in Anarchy in its higher and better sense.

Men and Sheep.

[Henry Maret.]

Man, we were taught in our childhood, is a social animal. Above all, he is an animal amenable to discipline. He marches in a flock, like sheep. Only the sheep is less stupid. It does not create its own shepherd.

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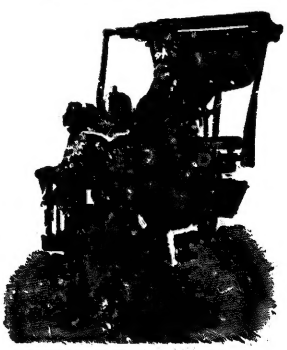

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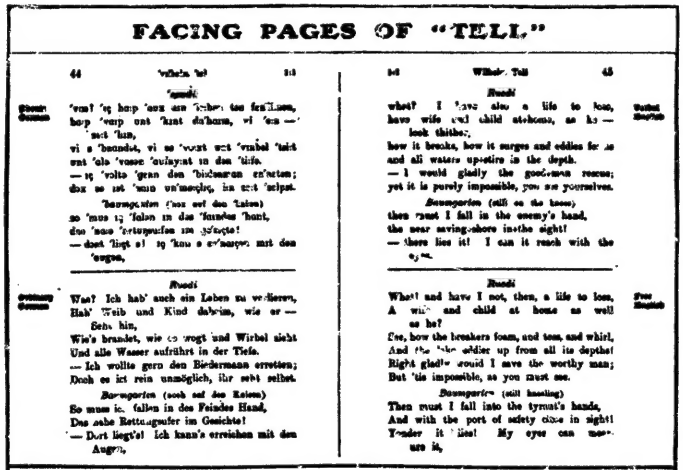

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October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the *orisicular* sounds, that is, the sounds produced without vibration of the vocal cords, are *enclosed in circles* ( ).

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	j(c)	g(k) ɑ(q)		(ʔ)
Nose passage open	m(m)	n(n)	ɲ(ɲ)	ŋ(ŋ)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(l)	ʎ(ʎ)	l(l)		
Trilled		r(r)			ʀ(ʀ)	ɢ
So close as to produce friction	v(v) ʋ(ʋ)	z(z) ʒ(ʒ) ð(ð) ɹ(ɹ)		ɹ(ɹ)		ɦ(ɦ) (h)
	Rounded		ɥ(ɥ)	w(w)		
			ɟ(ʝ)	ɣ(x)		
Very close	Unrounded		y	ɯ	u	
			i	ɨ	ɯ	
Close	Rounded		ɤ		ɯ	
			ɪ	ʊ		
Half close	Rounded		ø	ɵ	o	
			e	ə	ʏ	
Half open	Rounded		œ	ɜ	ɔ	
			ɛ	ɐ	ʌ	
Open			æ	ɐ		
Very open			a	ɑ		

ː denotes that the *preceding* sound is relatively *long*
ˑ denotes that the sounds just *after* it are relatively loud.
ʰ denotes that the sound under it is *voiced*, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *high*.
[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *low*.
/ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds *rises*.
\ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds *falls*.

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